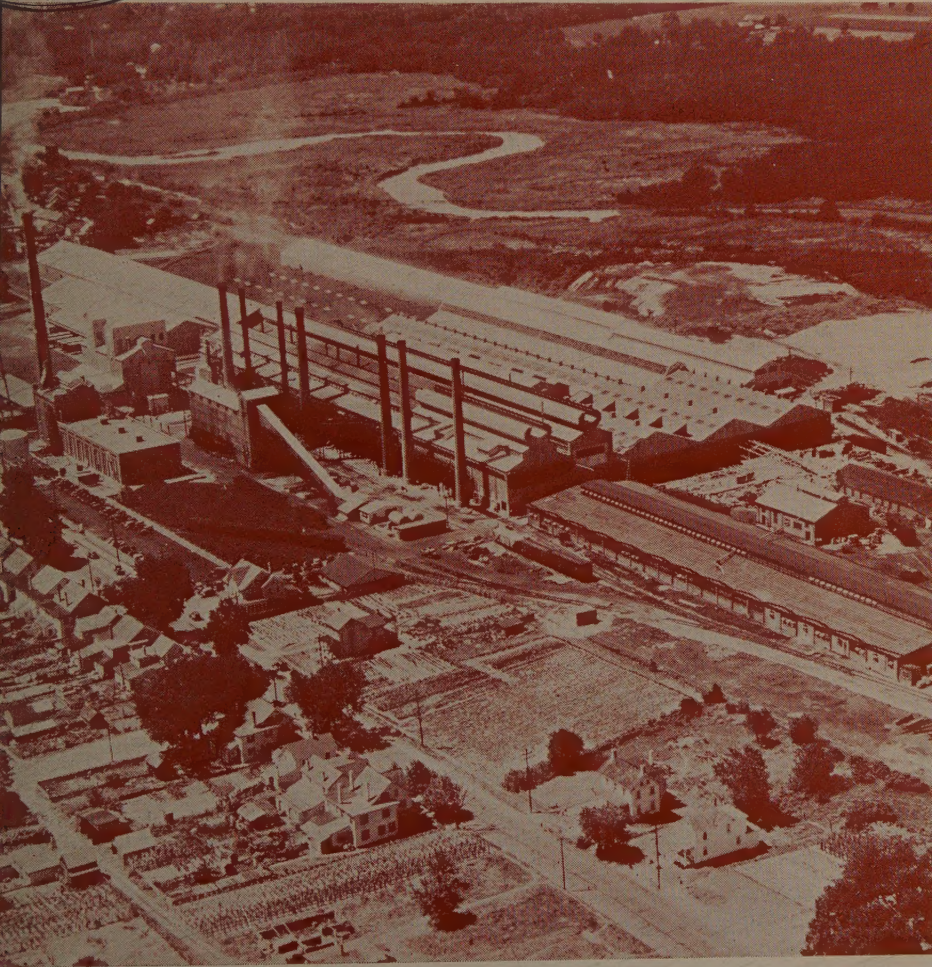


SOCIAL ACTION

DECEMBER 15, 1945



ROADS TO FULL
EMPLOYMENT

SOCIAL ACTION Magazine

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Roads to Full Employment

The dream of enduring peace on earth has faded early in the postwar morning. Colonial revolts, industrial strife, and civil war preempt the headlines once devoted to bomber raids and major battles. The scale of warfare is smaller, but the fighting is closer home, and cynicism begins to envelop the land.

The dream of peace and prosperity has faded, but it is not gone. Despite great obstacles, men of courage and vision continue to plan for a safer, juster society. Many of their plans in the United States have been directed toward "full employment"—a slogan which is moving toward a philosophy and a program. As against the unplanned past, it is necessary now to plan for jobs for all. As against delay until patchwork methods alone are possible, it is necessary to plan *now*. There may again be millions of unemployed in the United States before another year has passed.

Various groups seek to reach full employment by diverse routes. A few of the more significant proposals are presented in the pages that follow. The Committee for Economic Development, whose views are reflected in Mr. Flanders' article, is composed of business and industrial leaders, and has come to be regarded as liberal and progressive in its outlook. Mr. Eby presents the kind of view found widely in the CIO, and Mr. McCulloch points to the involvement and opportunities of the churches.

L. P.

Labor's Road to Full Employment

By KERMIT EBY

Everybody wants full employment. Radio, press, House and Senate caucus rooms thrill to the strain of Jobs for All. NAM and CIO, CED and AFL, WCTU and PTA, the Farmers' Union and the Consumers' League—all join the chorus. From the slow, stately cadences of Henry Wallace, the theme has developed to a high pitch of emotional frenzy. It has taken on the rhythmic reiteration of boogie-woogie music, the opiate charm of the "Bolero."

Two Million Already Unemployed

Everybody wants full employment. Even the two million men and women who are now walking the streets, living on weekly unemployment compensation checks—even these believe in Jobs for All. They can be forgiven, perhaps, for wondering a little, for hearing discords in the song that are not so apparent to our ears. After all, they have a great deal more leisure time than we, to wonder in.

What these two million wonder is how worship of employment can exist alongside unemployment; why, when a whole nation wants full employment, it doesn't give a little push and produce full employment. They know that recessions are expensive for business, expensive for the farmer, and expensive for the government. And they know only too well that unemployment is expensive for them. They know that full employment is possible, for they have seen it during the war. Yet, here they are, without jobs. They can hardly be blamed for wondering why we have hit dead center on this employment question.

The fact is that the great American Mutual Admiration Society, post-war edition, is a surface phenomenon only. Closer examination reveals a number of qualifying "buts" working

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their way toward the surface. These "buts" are the reason for legislative lethargy; these "buts" are keeping two million indefinitely out of work; these "buts" are delaying our reconversion effort far more effectively than the current labor disputes. These "buts" already have a familiar ring, for they are the unanswered question of the depression of the 1930's, the question that must yet be answered definitely one way or another before American democracy can emerge from its dilemma.

The same dilemma that kept our economy in its strangle-hold during the 1930's is gripping us again now that the war interlude is passed.

Economic Planning and Individual Rights

To what extent are economic planning and the rights of the individual compatible? This is the question that the depression planted squarely before our eyes and that we must deal with squarely to avoid another depression. For we never really con-



This is a relief line in Cleveland, Ohio during the last depression. The city, when faced with exhausted relief funds, turned to the Federal government for aid. Mr. Eby wants the United States to plan now how best to use the Federal government for full employment rather than for relief after local resources have failed.

quered the depression, never found even a tentative solution for our economic dilemma. The untimely death and the inherent contradictions of the New Deal program make it almost impossible to draw clear conclusions from the experience of these years. Today, when we need knowledge most, we don't know which of the measures that we tried were unworkable and which were perhaps desirable, which were incompatible and which were complementary. If we had seen the AAA-NRA program through to its conclusion, whether success or failure, we would know better where we stand and where we are going. As it is, we find ourselves wallowing in a swamp when it comes to planning, for every time one interest group in Congress starts to work, it finds it is stepping on another group's concept of the "sacredness of the individual."

The rights of the individual have come to mean many things to many interests. The time has come to straighten out the double-talk on this subject and to analyze what individual freedom and liberty really mean.

The Myth that a Corporation is an Individual

This problem of the individual has become a highly complex one for many reasons. The first among them, probably, dates back to one of our earlier Supreme Court decisions which marked down as a part of our national tradition that a corporation is an individual—"intangible, impersonal, and existing only in contemplation of the law," but nonetheless an individual. At the time, this demarcation was only a legal convenience. Had Mr. Justice Marshall ever suspected the later implications of his definition, he would perhaps have qualified it more carefully.

In any case, the legal tradition of corporate individuality has been fortified through the years with profound legal and extra-legal ramifications. In its personalized capacity the corporation has become surrounded with an aura of liberties and freedoms that in the light of pure logic do not befit its role in society.

A corporation enjoys the same freedom of contract as does

the individual citizen. Too many businessmen have interpreted this to mean that the bargaining power of corporation and individual worker should be placed on a plane in determining working conditions—that labor unions, in other words, violate this freedom of the individual in so far as they mold his personality into that of the organization. Since the National Labor Relations Act, only the most die-hard have urged the liquidation of labor unions, but there have lately been many ill-disguised attempts by the states to restrict the freedom of collective bargaining. And recently the Ball-Burton-Hatch Bill has assumed some importance on the national level. This bill is an attempt to delay and smother the process of collective bargaining in the well-known maze of the courts. In essence, it is an attempt to revert once more to the days of corporation *vs.* individual worker.

Restrictions on Corporations

Again, there are still many today who claim that the corporation as an individual should be taxed equally along with "other" private citizens, not on a progressive or preferential scale. Although such a proposition is economically indefensible, it has to a greater or smaller degree been the basis of recent congressional tax slashes. These tax cuts took small cognizance of the importance of fiscal policy as an economic regularizer which can keep consumer purchasing power at the highest possible level and drain off into productive channels surplus corporate savings.

Or, again, the corporate individuality is offended by laws of the anti-trust or chain-store variety. These are denounced as arbitrary because they apply only to one class of "individuals," not to all alike. All these arguments are seldom used in their extreme form, of course, but all recall that observation of Anatole France: "Great is the majesty of the law, which forbids both rich and poor alike to sleep under bridges and to steal bread."

The American people uncovered the clay feet of the corporate

idol to some extent during the depression. The concept of corporate responsibility to society through the government became established as, despite the anti-trust laws, it never had before. The SEC, the minimum wage, and social security are here to stay. Collective bargaining is probably generally accepted by the public, despite the cloud of dust to the contrary being currently stirred up by conservative interests.

Despite these limitations on laissez-faire, however, business today is striving to retain as much as possible of the theory of corporate individualism, otherwise known as "free private enterprise" or the "American system."

Bureaucracy and Freedom

There is another side to the coin, too. This is commonly called "bureaucracy" or "government interference with the rights of the individual." Again, reference is not to the individual who stands on two feet and works for a living and eats if he can, but to the corporate individual. The government cannot legislate arbitrarily against individuals by the name of

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The National Committee on the Human Aspects of Reconversion requested community leaders and agencies to report the problems faced in their localities by the end of war production and the current status of reconversion. The replies, from 19 cities, indicate confusion and tension throughout the nation, with anticipation of an increasingly grave situation a few months from now. We have selected for this and following boxes a few trenchant quotations from these reports.

How the aged are affected by peacetime cutbacks:

Wichita: "The suddenness of V-J stunned them, and large numbers of persons did not work another hour. . . . Some of those (applying for old age assistance) were crowded out of their marginal jobs by persons freed from the aircraft factories, and some had been cared for by relatives, but because of the loss of jobs the relatives felt that they could no longer support them."

How Negroes and other minorities are affected:

Portland, Oregon: "USES officials will tell you in whispers that the situation is bad for the Negro. When Negro applicants are sent to employers not stating a preference, the Negroes are more often than not refused for employment. . . . A well informed Chinese resident told me recently that it is beginning to be more and more difficult for a Chinese person to find employment. . . . American-Japanese workers meet the same resistance confronting Negroes."

Jones; Jones is protected by the Constitution. By the same token, it should be unconstitutional to strike with laws at an individual by the name of Corporation. A minimum wage law, for example, restricts the liberty of the corporation as an individual to bargain freely with the individual worker. And, when this reasoning is carried a little farther, the worker's freedom, too, is restricted dangerously when he is forbidden by "bureaucracy" to work for less than 40c or 65c an hour. It is surprising that so few workers care to protect this sort of sacred liberty that they possess.

Today, as yesterday, the whole root and stem of this point of view is the 18th century laissez-faire theory of Adam Smith. Rephrased, revived, it bears the indelible mark of Ricardo and John Stuart Mill, the "liberalism" of a dead past. Janus-faced, the vested interests of capitalism attempt to bring past and future together in a philosophically and economically unhappy union.

As labor sees today's picture, the laissez-faire profit motive alone cannot bring the progressive, enriched society that is so close to our grasp. There are certain ideals that must be legislatively interwoven into the corporate pattern. The labor movement is a workers' movement and as such it recognizes the labor force as a collection of individuals with all the rights and dignity of humanity. A human being cannot be treated as a commodity and it is in failing to recognize this that the profit motive falls short. Protection of human rights should become as essential a part of our unwritten constitution as the protection of property rights. There is much that business can accomplish if left to its own devices that a government-controlled economy would not stimulate. Nevertheless, there are social fields in which government and not business must take economic action.

Terms of the Full Employment Bill

The Full Employment Bill is an important document because it legalizes this concept of an individual job right for the first

time. This bill is a declaration of policy. It simply seeks to put the government of the United States on record as believing that every citizen is entitled to a job. It does not commit the government to providing or guaranteeing that job. By the terms of the bill, the administration is instructed to draw up a budget at the beginning of each fiscal year, indicating what employment opportunities can be expected for that year, and recommending measures to fill whatever gap may exist between jobs needed and jobs available. These recommendations may or may not be passed by Congress, and they may take whatever form it deemed wise—probably, but not necessarily, some measure of public spending.

Obviously, there is no inherent economic danger in this bill. It simply seeks to give the worker the same property right that the corporate individual enjoys. And it is opposed precisely for this reason. Even an implication of job security is too much for the die-hard individualists to swallow.

The extension of wage security, too, comes as a bitter dose to the individualists, who (as this is written) are opposing all along the line enactment of the Pepper Bill for a 65c minimum wage. This bill is an attempt to bring up to date the terms of the Fair Labor Standards Act which provides for a 40c minimum wage. A study recently made by the Textile Workers Union of the CIO indicates that the absolute minimum wage for a rock-bottom standard of living today is 65c an hour. Yet, 37% of America's workers, even during the war years, were earning an hourly wage of less than 65c. They were able to live only because of the time-and-one-half pay of the 48-hour week. Now that the work week has been reduced, these men and women who made our war machines are going into debt. They do not think that their rights as individuals are threatened by the enactment of this law. Their right to existence is threatened by its delay.

Social Security Revision

Social security revision, too, comes in for its share of "buts." The Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill, which revises and expands our social security system, has the particular opposition of the American Medical Association, but its passage would be a real step forward in the sharing of economic risks.

Under the major provisions of the Social Security Act, some 4,250,000 men, women, and children are currently receiving cash benefits amounting to approximately \$111,000,000 a month. Our experience with this program over these last ten years has shown what an important role social security can play in the American economy. At the same time it has highlighted the inadequacies and omissions of our present Act.

Of the five major threats to economic security—sickness, disability, old age, unemployment, and death of the family breadwinner—only the last three are recognized in the present law. Yet sickness and disability, barring extended periods of unemployment, have been the greatest single cause of poverty and dependency in the United States.

The time has come when our whole social security system needs to be overhauled and streamlined so that it can make its most effective contribution to post-war America. And that is where the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill comes in.

To broaden the scope and to correct major defects in the present law, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill was introduced into Congress last May.

How the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill strengthens our present system of social security can best be answered by reviewing its major provisions. The bill provides for three national insurance systems:

1. **Retirement, Survivors, and Extended Disability Insurance.** Limited coverage under our present old-age and survivors' insurance is extended under the Wagner-Murray-Dingell

Bill to owners of small businesses, the self-employed, farmers, agricultural workers, domestic workers and employees of non-profit institutions. Voluntary coverage is provided for employees in state and local governments. The present old-age and survivors' insurance benefits are increased by liberalizing the benefit formula, and raising the monthly minimum to \$20 and the maximum to \$120 for an individual worker. The lump sum payment, now provided for under survivors' insurance, would be paid to the survivor of an insured worker whether or not he was eligible for monthly benefits.

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Jobs available are sub-standard:

New Orleans: "Jobs are available in numbers and variety . . . but wage rates vary from \$.40 to \$1.20 an hour. Industry, by and large, is trying to force a return to pre-war wages which tended, even pre-war to be substandard, and which now for take home pay are so low in the face of increased living costs during the past five years, that workers are refusing jobs as long as they can possibly hold out and live."

Pittsburgh: "The openings for men at the present time are on 'hot, dirty jobs' and pay about \$32 a week. Job openings for women today are in laundries, paying \$.40 an hour. In spite of reduced earnings retail prices are expected to continue at the present level and the worker will be required to reduce expenditures by lowering his standards of consumption."

Most important, however, is the new provision for extended disability insurance. Under this program, an insured worker under 65 who becomes totally disabled is eligible for monthly cash benefits, with additional payments for his wife and children. This bill recognizes the obvious fact that permanent disability is, in reality, premature old age and should be so treated. Under the present Act, no provision is made for such workers.

2. Unemployment and Temporary Disability Insurance and Maternity Benefits. A national unemployment insurance system would replace the hodge-podge we now have resulting from 51 different state and territorial unemployment compensation laws. Coverage would be extended beyond the present law to include agricultural and domestic workers, seamen, employees of nonprofit institutions and of small firms employing

one or more workers. Dependents' allowances would also be provided in estimating a worker's benefit under unemployment insurance.

Another far-reaching provision would grant benefits, equal in amount to unemployment compensation, to workers when they are sick or temporarily disabled. Married women workers would be provided with 12 weeks of maternity leave.

3. Prepaid Personal Health Service Insurance. This has become the most controversial section in the whole Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill. Much of the heated debate has been argued on false assumptions and gross misrepresentations. Contrary to what some vested interests would have us believe, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill does not provide for "socialized" medicine. Patients, under its provisions, would be free to select their own doctors, and doctors would be left free to enter or remain out of the system.

Labor's Aim—A New Kind of Profit for the Future

These measures constitute the full employment program that Congress has been stalling over for so long. Together and separately, these measures represent an extension of individual liberty and opportunity. Liberty has been an abstract concept to most Americans for too long, for liberty means nothing without the time, means, or peace of mind to enjoy it. The only liberty that is threatened by these measures is the liberty of the corporation to behave as if it were a person, a giant Behemoth trampling down the rights of others in its path and in its clashes with its kindred.

This concept of individualism is as outmoded as the eighteenth century capitalism to which it is linked. That sort of capitalism and all the philosophies surrounding it must be brought under the control of the people through their government, if democracy is ever to fulfill its promise of liberty and justice. Labor's aim is not to destroy the profit motive—only to stress for the future a different kind of profit.

Cyclical depression, for example, is a part of the capitalistic

business cycle. A society geared to the profit motive alone would accept business recessions as the natural course of things. When welfare becomes a consideration, on the other hand, a depression takes on a different aspect. It means human suffering and misery. More than that, it means miles lost in the march toward human progress. It is more than startling when economist Robert Nathan states that "With the manpower, the management, and the materials which lay idle throughout the '30's, we could have much more than rebuilt every home, every factory, every office building, every bridge, every railroad, every dam, every power plant, every piece of furniture and clothing, and all other reproducible assets which exist in the United States today." That is one way to put it; let us look at it in an even stronger light by assuming that the spending had been socially planned. Then we could during those years have built and supported enough schools, churches, hospitals, and playgrounds so that every American child and adult would have been physically, mentally, and morally healthy enough to assure something like 500 years of cultural progress within ten years' time.

Human dignity, the fullest possible development of every individual mind and body—this is our true national wealth. No profit gleaned from an untethered system of free enterprise can make up for the human wreckage left by unemployment, low wages, stifling conditions of work and living. These, the losses that never appear on the corporate balance sheet, are a national deficit that we must wipe out.

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A Management View of the Road to Full Employment

By RALPH FLANDERS

In the broad sense there are clearly many possible roads to full employment; and there are also varying concepts of what full employment represents as an objective. The prewar Nazi or fascist states followed a well-defined road toward their objective of full employment which might, I presume, have been defined as "a condition where the maximum of the nation's manpower and resources was devoted to the preparation for, or waging of, war." In this regard the Allied nations, when put to the test, themselves staged some rather classic examples of this type of "full employment."

But having achieved the victory of this all-out contest of Allied manpower and resources *versus* enemy manpower and resources, I do not believe that we have any further desire for that particular sort of full employment. It was achieved at too high a cost in loss of personal freedoms and other considerations to interest us as a means of achieving a high level of peacetime employment.

The Meaning of High Employment

Let me define what the Committee for Economic Development means by high level employment. It means a continuing ample level of production, high wages and job opportunities, attained and maintained within an economic framework which encourages private competitive enterprise and protects our individual freedom.

I am particularly conscious of this relationship between high employment and freedom of the individual because for more than a year the Research Committee of the CED, of which I am

Ralph Flanders is Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, and Chairman of the Research Committee of the Committee for Economic Development, whose views this article reflects.

chairman, has been studying the many ramifications of this subject. We have been concerned not alone with the sheer economics of high and expanding employment but also with the social objectives of achieving and maintaining such goals within the framework of a free society.

Our conclusions have been issued recently in a Statement of National Policy, entitled, "Toward More Jobs and More Freedom." I wish in this article to summarize some of those conclusions.

Our society is dedicated to the idea that individuals should have maximum opportunity to realize their individual capacities—materially, intellectually, and spiritually. The prime value we place on the growth and development of the individual finds expression in all phases of our national life. In politics it takes the form of representative government; in economics, the form of private competitive enterprise and individual self-reliance.



Leaders of the Research department of the Committee for Economic Development. Left to right: Sumner H. Slichter, professor of economics at Harvard University and chairman of CED's Research Advisory Board; Ralph E. Flanders, president of Jones & Lamson Machine Company and chairman, Research Committee, CED; Theodore O. Yntema, professor, School of Business, University of Chicago, research director of the CED.

The Committee for Economic Development (CED), an independent organization of business men, concentrates on what private enterprise can contribute to a program of full employment, rather than on what the Federal government can or may eventually have to do.

We have fared well as a people, both politically and economically. More of our people have enjoyed more freedom and greater material benefits than have the people of any other land. Our standard of living has been the highest in the world. With six per cent of the world's population, we produce one-quarter of the world's goods. But too many of our people have not fared well enough. Too many of our people have not had adequate opportunities for growth and development. Too often our progress has been interrupted by recurring depressions and mass unemployment.

We have a dual date with destiny. We must strive to attain and maintain abundant productive employment. We must at the same time preserve and strengthen economic and political freedom. This is the challenge. We see no necessary conflict between these two objectives. They can and should be complementary.

If we are to meet this challenge, if we are to strengthen our freedoms and obtain the greatest possible number of jobs freely offered and freely held, we must be guided by the following principles:

We must begin, where we are, with what we have, in order to make the most of what we possess in resources, in institutions, and in "know-how."

We must accept free enterprise as our economic way of life. We must discover its shortcomings and find ways to correct them. We must not dissipate our energies in fruitless lip-service or superficial criticism, or worse still, in self-serving action which undermines the system. All of us—in government, labor, agriculture, and business—must work positively and aggressively to make our free enterprise system function with maximum effectiveness.

The maintenance of high employment is a responsibility shared by all participants in our economy—job seekers, job holders, employers, labor leaders—by local communities and by the government. All must separately and jointly promote the conditions necessary for abundant employment.

Joint Responsibilities

In discharging their several responsibilities, all groups and individuals are mutually interdependent. All of the major segments of our economy—business, labor, and agriculture—have a common interest in maintaining high employment and expanding production.

Employers, as well as the self-employed, have a vital interest in rising standards of living which permit expanding markets for

their products. The interests of business as a whole are best served by passing on a substantial part of the savings flowing from higher productivity in the form of lower prices and higher wages.

Workers and labor leaders—directly concerned with high wages and low prices—promote their own interests when they, too, contribute toward the productive efficiency upon which high wages and low prices depend. Increased output per worker, through improved technology, is essential to a steady rise in real wages.

Both employers and labor leaders, in pursuit of this common goal, generally profit in the long run by opposing restrictive policies that lower output and raise costs. Taking a long view of self-interest is, in fact, a first step toward harmonizing objectives which, on the surface, often appear to clash. To the extent that long-run group interests converge on high employment and high productivity, they coincide with the interests of the community as a whole.

This unity of long-term interests emphasizes the need for restraint on the part of individuals and groups tempted to turn to government for special favors or alleviation of short-term difficulties. Artificial price maintenance, restrictive trade and labor practices, subsidies for particular groups, and other impairments of competitive markets generally operate counter to the public interest and, in the long run, counter to the interests of the class of which the self-serving individual or group is a member. Moreover, they place the free enterprise system in jeopardy.

Joint action by employers and labor leaders, as the Committee for Economic Development has found in its Field Development work, can be particularly effective in planning for the economic development of local communities. Acceptance by local communities of responsibility for solving their own employment problems can make a vital contribution to the solution of the national employment problem.

Responsibilities of Individual and Groups

1. The *individual worker* cannot be held solely responsible for keeping himself employed at all times under modern economic conditions. But if he wants employment, he does have the responsibility of making the most effective use of the opportunities available. For a job-holder this means giving a good day's work for a good day's pay, and steady effort to improve his competence. For a job-seeker, it means taking advantage of all facilities for general education and for the development of salable skills as well as actively seeking opportunities to use them.

2. *Labor leaders* are responsible for protecting and advancing the interests of the employees they represent. In their collective bargaining activities they must recognize the joint responsibility they share with management for high employment and productive efficiency, upon which the long-run advantage of the workers depends. By far the greatest real gains to labor have come from increasing the size of the total pie to be shared.

3. *Businessmen*, within the framework of a competitive economy, have a primary responsibility to operate their businesses profitably. It is a responsibility they owe to their stockholders and associates, to their workers, and to the public. Without profits the businessman, as job-maker, cannot long provide expanding job opportunities or stability of existing employment. Since profits depend on the loyalty and ability of workers, as well as on technical skill in management, the businessman should create in his enterprise conditions that encourage the maximum growth and development of the capabilities of employees.

Profits and employment both depend in large part on the ability of the business manager to adapt his operations to changing market requirements. A business manager should have ready at all times intelligent, courageous plans for carrying on and expanding his business—plans developed to the point where they can be applied quickly. In fulfilling these responsibilities, in conjunction with the more comprehensive plans for community and regional development already

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How women are affected by peacetime cutbacks:

Milwaukee: "Three-fourths of the unemployed in this city are women. However, only one-quarter of the available jobs are for women. The newspapers here are trying to create the impression that women are happy to be released from work and to return to the kitchen. Nevertheless, their interviews with women seem to indicate the contrary. Now that women have found it interesting and often necessary to work, they would like to have further opportunities."

Wichita: "I have been informed by workers in permanent employment here in Wichita that their employers are trying to rid themselves of their women workers, and in some instances men over 33 years of age."

How veterans are affected:

Dallas: "When savings have been depleted and benefits have been exhausted, workers will either have to leave the country, accept the few marginal jobs that are available, or remain unemployed. With over 3,000 veterans returning each month, the size of the unemployment problem will grow accordingly unless there is extensive outmigration. . . . Plants built here during the war and owned by the government, viz.: North American Aviation, Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, Continental Motors, etc. are closing down, and as far as can be noted there are no conversion plans. . . ."

mentioned, the business manager makes his best contribution to the achievement and maintenance of high levels of employment.

The Responsibilities of Government

The whole people acting through government, and especially through the federal government, have crucial responsibilities for promoting and maintaining high levels of productive employment. Although under American political philosophy government's powers are limited, few any longer doubt that the policies and actions of the government will be decisive in shaping the economy. The economic role of government is as yet imperfectly understood. A government of limited powers cannot fulfill a guarantee so unlimited as that of jobs for all. But its opportunities for wise and constructive action are as great as its responsibilities.

The basic criterion against which all policies and actions should be measured is their ultimate effect upon the character and capacity of individual citizens. The impact of any policy on personal self-reliance, resourcefulness, and inventiveness is of overwhelming significance. America is a strong country. The secret of that strength lies in the industry, fortitude, and ingenuity of millions of average citizens and in the institutions which nurture these qualities. Our future strength will depend upon our success in safeguarding and expanding the opportunities of the individual for personal growth and development, in giving scope to his creative instinct.

The most vital function of government in fostering employment is, we are convinced, to establish conditions under which a free enterprise system can operate most effectively and to counteract the tendencies in that system toward booms and depressions. The effect of some government policies of recent years has been favorable to these objectives, of others unfavorable. No clear-cut, consistent philosophy has been followed. The magnitude of the existing public debt and the anticipated volume of regular public expenditures make government policy so dominant a factor in the economy that clarity, consistency and coordination become imperative.

Government's role as a direct employer is a minor one. In 1940 the federal government provided about five per cent of the total civilian employment—one job out of twenty—in its regular establishment and in the construction of public works. Some expansion in both the volume and percentage of employment by the federal government may be necessary, even desirable.

Coordination of Effort Is Imperative

Having drawn the above conclusions as to the joint and separate responsibilities of industry, labor, and government in achieving a high level of employment, the CED Research Committee called particular attention to two facts: that many separate studies had been and are being made by both private and public groups by way of attack on the many distinct but inter-related problems affecting employment; and that there were in existence many government agencies and quasi-public groups, each of which was seeking to take action on one or more of these problems.

The Committee therefore concluded that there was an immediate need for practical means of coordinating these efforts and in keeping with such conclusions, made the following recommendations:

The time has come when the various studies by public and private agencies should be reviewed, their recommendations appraised, and the areas for further investigation mapped out. The time has come to make a beginning toward a program of action. Urgently needed now is a working group in the Executive Branch of the government and a working group in Congress with one specific assignment, and one only—the development of a coordinated and progressive program of measures designed to meet the responsibilities of the federal government for a more stable and prosperous society. Therefore, we propose that the President and the Congress affirm that the attainment and the maintenance of high-level production and employment in the United States within the framework of a free enterprise economy is a major objective of national policy.

To implement this declaration of policy we recommend the immediate appointment of:

- (1) A President's Commission on Full Employment. This Commission should be headed by a representative of the President. It should be a small working body composed of the ablest men to be found. Its members should be chosen as representatives of the general public interest (particular economic groups or viewpoints can be represented through advisory groups). The Commission should be serviced by a staff of the most competent authorities in the various

fields. It should make policy recommendations to the President periodically, beginning as promptly as possible. It should lay the groundwork for the development of a continuing and coordinated program of government action.

- (2) A Joint Congressional Committee on Full Employment. This Committee should be composed of the ranking members of Senate and House Committees which now deal with major problems affecting the economy. It too should be adequately staffed. It should receive reports from the President with regard to such matters and should work toward the development of a coordinated Congressional policy.

Courage, Imagination, and Toil

In the balance of their policy statement, the CED Research Committee discusses the major areas of government responsibility and makes certain recommendations and suggestions as to further lines of inquiry for the consideration of the proposed Commission and Committee. In conclusion, the Committee observes that "the entire future of our country rests upon our finding a sound answer to the question of what a government of a free people can and should do to promote the attainment of an economy of abundant production and employment. This is a prerequisite to winning the peace. But it is only a first step. Even if our government meets its full responsibilities, we cannot win the peace unless we the people, acting in our individual capacities, meet our individual responsibilities. It is going to take courage, imagination, and toil on the part of all of us to realize our goal of more jobs and more freedom."

"As yet, unfortunately, we do not have in America an 'adequate program' to provide 60,000,000 productive jobs. Nor will such a program develop out of thin air. The right to a job is not self-enforceable. It can be translated into reality only through the joint action of the people of our country—business, labor, agriculture, and all other groups—acting through the medium of their duly elected Government. In short, the so-called right to a job is a meaningless figure of speech unless our Government assumes responsibility for the expansion of our peacetime economy so that it will be capable of assuring full employment."

(Year-End Report of the War Contracts Subcommittee to the Senate Committee on Military Affairs—James E. Murray, Harry S. Truman and Chapman Revercomb. December 18, 1944.)

The Churches and Full Employment

By FRANK W. McCULLOCH

Among the witnesses at the U.S. Senate hearings on the Full Employment Bill were four distinguished churchmen: Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, president of the Federal Council of Churches; Bishop Bernard J. Sheil, director of the Catholic Youth Organization; Monsignor John O'Grady, secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities; and Rabbi Ahron Opher, assistant to the president of the Synagogue Council of America. All gave warm support to the measure. They expressed the sanction of religion for the right of all to useful work and approved the principle that government should accept responsibility for supplementing private enterprise to assure full employment.

After a barrage of amendments, the bill then passed the Senate. But despite the unanimity of these religious leaders and the support of other great sections of the public, it was promptly bottled up in committee in the House. Even after the President's radio appeal to the people on October 30, observers agreed the proposal could pass only if greatly weakened.

If church agencies and members across the country are following the lead of their spokesmen in Washington and pressing for action on the measure, there are few outward signs of it. They seem to share the doubts and divisions, if not the apathy, afflicting much of the nation on this vital question of policy. On the record to date, Americans can hardly look to their churches to play a dynamic part in the drive for full employment. Yet with eight million unemployed promised for 1946 and more later, the need for an active Christianity to help in shaping the nation's economic future was never greater.

Why Is It a Job for the Church?

The basis of the churches' concern is clear: mass unemploy-

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ment, like war, takes a heavy toll of human beings and their institutions. The cost of our economic collapse in the 1930's can never be fully measured. Millions of our people bear the scars of that battle against want. Over \$350,000,000,000 in goods and services we might have produced were lost. Although America's democracy did not give way under the strain, others' did. And now we realize how greatly our economic catastrophe helped to open the way for dictatorships abroad and for the outbreak of the war itself.

Churches have long accepted peace as one of their major goals. Is there any less reason to strive for jobs for all? The

dignity and worth of human personality and the foundations of justice among men are at stake here. The churches' teaching of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man and the plain requirements of Christ's law of love are grossly violated by joblessness and want. The family and the democratic state are likewise menaced. Even the churches will surely suffer if our social fabric is rent by another major depression. Bishop Sheil eloquently summarized these convictions when he asserted at the Senate hearing:

The most searing and crippling effects of insecurity are not in the bodies but in the souls of men. I consider full employment a providential weapon in the achievement of man's end as a child of God. . . . We must achieve it. It is the central factor which will determine the pattern of national life after the war, including perhaps the fate of democratic institutions.

Beyond Alleviation, Prevention?

Religious leaders have not been unaware of the human wreckage in the wake of fluctuating business cycles and industrialization. It so aroused the conscience of great Christian leaders of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that they stirred the churches to a new awareness of the social implications of the gospel. Settlement houses, social welfare agencies, institutional churches and like projects, as well as a broadened theology and a host of pronouncements, are monuments to this active concern for economic and industrial problems.

These religious bulwarks against economic disaster, however, were not enough. So in the depression of the 30's new agencies like the Council for Social Action were formed. The institutions of mercy and prophecy were to be flanked with more effective works of prevention. But these beginnings were small, and it is doubtful whether churchmen yet have a deep enough conviction of their Christian duty to *prevent* such catastrophes to cause them to pitch in and work for the necessary adjustments in our economic and political order.

We are only slowly beginning to realize the changing size and character of this job. In the war we demonstrated that we

are a \$200,000,000,000 economy—with 11 million of our best producers absent in the armed forces, and with atomic energy only just discovered. Clearly it is no longer the physical problem of materials, manpower, machinery or money that bars our path. It is the problem of distribution, of developing mass purchasing power and a steady flow of investment, of a more equitable division of our abundance and of a more democratic sharing of power. The moral and ethical questions now involved transcend the economic and scientific.

We are forced by our experience to concur with Secretary of the Treasury Fred M. Vinson's assertion that "the American people are in the pleasant predicament of having to learn to live 50 per cent better than they have ever lived before." And again: "Depressions are not acts of God any more than wars are. They are the product of our man-made institutions and the way we organize our society. We can and must organize to prevent both."

Shortcomings in the National Policy

Any careful inventory of our prospects, however, reveals that there is not much to cheer about in the early phases of this drive for full employment. To be sure, the government has adopted nearly all the measures urged by the principal business groups. Liberal amortization terms. Rapid contract termination. Prompt plant clearance. A single surplus property administrator. Tax refunds. Tax reductions. Security against profit losses by additional tax refunds. Removal of most government controls. Relaxation of price ceilings. Abolition of the National Resources Planning Board. Defeat of nearly every measure dealing directly with human aspects of reconversion. The clear policy has been to "let business have its head." But no one even pretends to see where enough new investment and consumer spending is coming from to make up permanently for the deep cuts in government war spending.

Meanwhile, wage deflation of over \$16,000,000,000 is threatened by the cut-backs in hours, losses of premium pay and

changes to lower-rated jobs. Some weekly wages have been cut 20-30 per cent. But the cost of living is not down. Even "war prosperity" for over 10 million non-agricultural workers meant 65 cents an hour or less. Price inflation in consumer goods is confidently expected by many, and the reports of articles held off the market to await the period of higher prices and lower taxes are sickening. Inflation in land values and in prices of corporate stocks is already here, and housing costs threaten to soar. The



press at the same time distracts the public with claims that labor's wage demands are inflationary, while the government suppresses a report from its experts that a 24 per cent raise (or partial restoration of post-war wage cuts) is possible without price increases. And strikes are featured news, although production losses from layoffs may be 30 times as great.

Day by day, with demobilization speeding up, the housing, education, health and employment needs become more critical. Dangerous tempers are bound to arise between racial groups and between veterans and civilians competing for jobs. And as the jobless increase, the liquid savings counted upon so heavily to finance a new boom in America may be hoarded against a day of brighter hopes.

The summary termination of lend-lease, the withholding of desperately needed support from UNRRA, the prolonged delays in negotiating necessary loans to our allies and the unworkable settlement in Germany exhibit the same disregard for over-all economic developments abroad that the Congress, under the tight rein of a reactionary coalition, is showing for trends at home. Foreign trade prospects are accordingly dimmed.

We Must Understand the Dangers

A major responsibility of church leaders should certainly be to watch these less-well-publicized developments and understand the prospects and dangers implicit in them. Bernard Baruch has declared we are tragically neglecting the human side of reconversion. Congressional delays over-ride the counsel of progressive leaders, both in business and in labor. The parallels between events of today and those of 1918-19 are too close for comfort. The policy of "letting business have its head," although it may lift the stock market to new high levels, is too much like 1929 for a people who went through that depression to welcome. It ignores the clear lesson of the war, that with government coordination at certain key points and with team-

work from the various elements in our economy we can reach undreamed-of heights of production. It disbands the team.

Admittedly there is a difference of opinion about these prospects. Government officials estimate a peak of six to eight million idle by mid-1946. Others see the possibility of 12 million. Most economists seem to believe that a boom period of several years will follow, but it may be accompanied by a fairly sizable bloc of unemployed. Few believe we can stabilize even such a boom without much more planning, and many expect a great collapse after that. The world is apprehensive about our course. "It is precisely the uncertainty with respect to the future of the American economy that looms up as a major disturbing element in the post-war outlook throughout the world," wrote Alvin Hansen of Harvard recently.*

Basic Church Objectives

Guiding lines have already been laid down for church programs in this field. The great conferences at Oxford, Malvern and Delaware, among others, have affirmed the churches' duty to work for the satisfaction of human needs and for full employment. Increasingly, such pronouncements have dealt with related economic issues—wages, social security, collective bargaining, conservation, cooperatives, government controls and fiscal policy. No realistic approach to the problem of jobs can be made without considering these other aspects of our complex business structure.

One such statement of objectives for churches is to be found in the third section of the Chart for Social Action adopted by the Congregational-Christian Council for Social Action in 1944. (See feature on page 35.)

General objectives, however, are not enough. Writing the commandments, even in stone, is only the beginning. The social ideals of our religion must be woven into the pattern of our im-

*From "Stability and Expansion," chapter 5, in the symposium *Financing American Prosperity*, published by the Twentieth Century Fund, 1945.

mediate decisions and of our daily living if they are to affect the larger fabric of human life.

As we confront this responsibility, we realize, of course, that the church is not an institution set up to operate the political or economic system. But it can greatly affect the course of post-war economic events in the role of interpreter, critic, teacher, mediator, instigator and prophet. Among the many possibilities for local churches and for church groups are the following:

1. Study Groups

Existing women's, men's and youth organizations or separate forums set up by social action committees can strive to keep church members better informed about the human effects of current economic developments.

They can analyze the following planning and welfare legislation: a) Full Employment Bill, S. 380; b) Kilgore Bill for emergency improvement of unemployment insurance, S. 1274; c) Fair Labor Standards Act amendments to raise minimum wages to 65-75 cents per hour, S. 1349; d) Wagner-Ellender Housing Bill, S. 1342; e) Bill for a Permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, S. 101; f) Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill for extended social security and health insurance, S. 1050; g) McMahon Labor Peace Bill, S. 1419; and h) MVA Bill, S. 555.

Other urgent proposals requiring study are those for: a) maintenance of price controls on scarce goods, to prevent inflation; b) upward adjustment of wage scales, to counteract the deflation in purchasing power; c) a flexible, federal fiscal policy; d) rental, sale, or government operation to assure production by idle government plants; e) prompt negotiation of American loans and destruction of trade barriers, to stimulate world commerce; f) encouragement of family-type farming and development of plans for the use of America's agricultural surpluses both at home and abroad, instead of reverting to crop-reduction policies; g) improved controls over monopolies; h) expanded consumer cooperatives; and i) extension of the federal Labor Department's services to labor and the Commerce Department's services to small business.

Many of these are highly controversial issues. But it is in the national decisions on these concrete, immediate questions that the shape of our economic future is being determined. If the

churches are to be effective, must they not explore the implications of "brotherhood" and "justice" in all of these matters? And, must they not learn to see through the glib propaganda drives which suggest that social security for persons is "un-American," but refunds for corporations are good policy—or that "full employment is incompatible with freedom"—or that government inevitably bungles, stifles initiative, kills inventive genius and becomes tyrannical. (Tell it to the atomic research men or the people in the Tennessee Valley.)

2. Community Educational Projects

While our church members are our first responsibility, other elements in the community need and would welcome more opportunities for discussion of current social issues. A recent scientific opinion poll in Chicago revealed that 71 per cent of those questioned favored neighborhood lectures and meetings on problems such as full employment. Thirteen per cent thought these should be arranged by precinct captains, but eight per cent expressed a preference for churches.

3. Legislative Recommendations and Pressure

Like Bishop Oxnam and the others mentioned at the beginning of this article, church groups after study should register their findings and convictions with the appropriate public officials. Active Christian citizenship demands the use of resolutions, letters, telegrams, delegations and occasionally testimony at important Congressional hearings. Unless we in the churches will seek to find a way through the maze of political action, we surrender our democracy to the manipulations of those who take the trouble to know how it works.

"Big government" is here to stay. Our best hope to keep it the servant rather than the master of the people is to have the people informed, alert and participating in all its decisions. An indication of how far we are from doing this was given by the Chicago opinion poll which disclosed that only 11 per cent even knew the name of the Congressman from their district. It

also revealed that only 17 per cent had heard of the Full Employment Bill—but that 83 per cent favored its principles.

Such opinion polling, furthermore, may be a valid, new technique for improving our legislative work. It furnishes a legitimate guide as to the people's desires, for transmission to their representatives in Congress. Carried on by volunteers with a little expert guidance, as this survey was in Chicago, the project lends itself to use by church social action groups.

4. Cooperation with Functional Groups

It has long been a commonplace of social studies that the most effective pressure for removing injustice comes from the organized action of those who are the victims of it. F. Ernest Johnson, in his 1942 review of the progress made in 30 years toward the social ideals of the churches, wrote:

Defensive action by groups in their own interest has been one of the most significant factors in getting things done. . . . A grand strategy for the church in social terms would link more closely the formulation of Christian ethics with the means by which in a world of realities, of relativities and compromises, equities have to be hammered out and new liberties achieved.

The progressive groups in labor, agriculture and business are the "means" with which we must be more closely linked if we would succeed in the drive for jobs. They, and particularly the labor leaders, are today the backbone of the fight for a minimum government program for full employment. Without endorsing every action of any group, the churches can nevertheless draw in leaders at the local and national levels to consider joint action on specific issues involving their basic religious and social objectives. How else can they hope to be effective as they observe the well-organized opposition whose influence now dominates Congress?

In this common effort for full employment may not the churches help to break down one of the deepest cleavages in American life—between farmers and white-collar folk on the one hand, and trade unions on the other—to say nothing of the gulf between many of our churches and labor?

If notwithstanding all efforts another depression comes, churches can also render invaluable service by encouraging and cooperating with organizations of the unemployed themselves, as a few churches did in the 1930's. This can be a significant help in keeping desperate people from following the lead of demagogues who have no loyalty to the democratic way. Remember that Gerald L. K. Smith has been quoted as saying that when we have breadlines, inflation and farm foreclosures, in 1948, it will be the time for the American nationalists to come to power.

Churchmen in Europe out of their bitter experience can testify to the need of the churches for such coalitions in times of crisis. We would do well also to recall the warning of Charles E. Wilson, of General Electric, to his fellow industrialists, "I am deeply alarmed over the possibility that a right-wing reaction may draw some sections of capital so far away from our traditions as to imperil the entire structure of American life as we know it."

5. Personal Commitments

There is need, of course, for the church to carry on its historic task of calling men to repentance for their selfishness, greed, ignorance, pride and irresponsible use of power. It must encourage each to a new commitment of his life to the Christian way, and to the making of major decisions in the economic as in other fields with some reference to his best understanding of the will of God. It can help greatly to remove "the obstacles to economic justice in the human heart," as the Oxford Conference described them.

Closely related to this is the opportunity of the church to inspire its members to participate more actively in the political groups, trade unions, employers' organizations and other associations which are such powerful influences in the working of our democracy.

6. *Fundamental Adjustments*

The test of economic plans and systems for the Christian must be: do they truly advance the cause of justice and enlarge the opportunity for the development of human personality? By such a test it is not at all clear that even the minimum program supported by some liberal business and labor leaders will be sufficient. The Full Employment Bill is only a beginning. It is about as "radical" as the election platform of the Tories in Britain. It makes so many concessions to opponents of government action that many are fearful that it is being oversold to the American public as *the answer*.

Assuredly, the church must not let a futile utopianism, or struggle for a perfection we cannot now attain, hold it back from effective efforts for realizable, intermediate gains—like the Full Employment Bill, expanded social security, FEPC and higher minimum wages. But has not the church a duty to maintain its prophetic role and to point out that a way of life founded on the supremacy of the economic motive is doomed to failure? Must it not seek to develop a fundamental economic philosophy based on brotherhood and to encourage basic economic adjustments that will make unemployment impossible? American church leaders at the Delaware Conference recognized this duty:

We believe that a new ordering of economic life is both imminent and imperative, and that it will come either through voluntary cooperation within the framework of democracy or through explosive political revolution.

The months immediately ahead are the period of our greatest opportunity. There should be enough reconversion unemployment to disturb our complacency. The crisis, however, should not yet be great enough to strain our democratic processes. The future grows out of the planning we do now, together. The churches can, if they will, play a great role in the making of American decisions for full employment which will be so important to humanity both here and throughout the world.

CHART FOR ACTION IN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

The primary goal of economic enterprise is that of meeting human need, and no condition of birth, capacity, profit seeking, or economic status must be allowed to obscure this central fact. Accordingly, the economic system should be planned cooperatively by government, capital, management, labor and other appropriate agencies for the satisfaction of human needs, rather than monopolized for special gain or let alone under fictions associated with free enterprise and automatic economic laws. We shall work for plans which:

1. Promote the highest level of production consonant with conservation of resources, both natural and human.



2. Provide for full employment, both in private industry and in socially-useful government projects, and correspondingly reiterate the principle that every person capable of doing so has an obligation to give useful service to society.

3. Guarantee an annual minimum wage for workers in gainful employment, and an annual income for every family in accordance with its basic needs.

4. Extend the benefits of security against hazards of unemploy-

ment, accident, illness, old age, and other possible conditions of dependency.

5. Distribute more widely the control of property, especially in the direction of further experimentation in the forms of group (such as cooperative) and public ownership. Experimentation in forms of ownership of land is especially urgent in view of the estrangement of millions of tenant farmers and migrant agricultural workers from the soil on which they labor.

6. Promote equality among bargaining groups. The right to join organizations of their own choosing and to bargain collectively should in no instance be denied to any persons, nor should the responsibility that organized power implies be evaded by any organized group or so construed as to threaten democratic processes. The rights and responsibilities of organized labor should be equal to those of capital and management in the conduct of industry and agriculture, and the general welfare may be served by the establishment of representative economic councils which include competing groups.









7. Seek means of introducing new values into employment in impersonal and mechanized pursuits, that men may not lose their sense of economic dignity and personal vocation under God.

8. Shorten the work week to the lowest level commensurate with a high level of production, and correspondingly provide increased opportunities for adult education and recreation.

9. Abolish the exploitation of women and children in gainful employment.

The Score Thus Far in the Post-War World









Legislation Supported by Principal Labor Groups

No. of Bill	Purpose of Legislation	Congress Acts
S. 380 H.R. 2202 *	Full Employment Bill. Right to work made a national policy. Provides for national employment and production budget. Government responsible for "unemployment gap."	
S. 1274 H.R. 3891	Temporary Unemployment Benefits. To raise the maximum for amount and length of unemployment benefits during transition from war to peace.	
S. 1349 H.R. 3914	To amend the Fair Labor Standards Act to make 65c per hour the minimum wage for workers employed in industries engaged in inter-state commerce.	
S. 101 H.R. 2232	To establish a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission.	
S. 1178 H.R. 526	To provide equal pay for equal work, without discrimination as to sex.	
S. 1050 H.R. 3293	To establish a United States Employment Service as a federal agency. Part of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Social Security Bill.	
S. 1592	To establish a national housing policy, authorizing public housing in the lower cost range.	
S. 555	To establish a Missouri Valley Authority.	

*At press time Congress appeared to be "thumbs down" on this bill, although no vote had been taken.

The Score Thus Far in the Post-War World

Legislation Supported by Principal Business Groups

No. of Bill	Purpose of Legislation	Congress Acts
S. 340	Provides that Sherman and Clayton anti-trust acts shall not apply to insurance business at present. Means state, not federal, regulation.	
H.R. 3395	Contract re-negotiation act (for war material construction contracts) extended through Dec. 31, 1945.	
S. 375	Federal Loan Agency re-established as a lending agency separated from the Department of Commerce.	
S. 502	Subsidies in certain industries (rubber, meat, petroleum, copper, lead, zinc) continued to June 30, 1946.	
H.R. 3637	Tax Adjustment Act of 1945. Provides for business losses by refunds from excess profits tax.	
S. 1353	Amends the Surplus Property Administration Act of 1944. Creates a single administrator instead of a board.	
H.R. 4309	Reduction of individual and corporate income tax, including elimination of the excess profits tax.	
S. 1171	The Ball-Burton-Hatch bill to require compulsory arbitration (outlaw the strike) and restrict the union shop.	

Social Scene

It is often suggested that publication of union income and expenditures would strengthen confidence in unions. There is as much truth in this proposal as in the general principle that publication of financial records will assure responsible management.

The publication of the financial records of industry would be likewise enlightening. Capital stock structure, earnings and managerial salaries are items relevant to social appraisal.

The public needs the facts about industrial operation. This is especially true when labor and management, under the guidance of government, are attempting to reconvert.

For instance: All the man-hours lost by strikes from Pearl Harbor to V-J Day were more than made up in the man-hours worked on the four Fourth-of-Julys between those dates. The working capital of American industry increased between 1939 and 1945 from 24 billion to 48 billion dollars. At 65c. an hour, a 48-hour week with time-and-a-half for 8 hours overtime, cut back to a 40-hour week at straight time, means a 23 per cent cut in take-home pay. Government bonds are now held 77 per cent by the one-third highest income group, 17 per cent by the middle third, and 6 per cent by the lowest third.

"Know the truth and the truth shall make you free." Possession of the facts might help to give us freedom from strikes, freedom from unemployment, and freedom of industry.

Alfred W. Swan

Planning Agencies

Readers may write to any of the following agencies for pamphlets on plans for post-war employment.

American Federation of Labor, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D.C.
Committee for Economic Development, 285 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

Congress of Industrial Organizations, Department of Research and Education, 718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

National Association of Manufacturers, 14 W. 49th St., New York, N. Y.
National Citizens' Political Action Committee, 205 E. 42nd St., New York 17, N. Y.

National Planning Association, 800 Twenty First St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Books for Social Action

SIXTY MILLION JOBS, by Henry A. Wallace. New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., paper, \$1.00; Reynal and Hitchcock, cloth, \$2.00.

Free enterprise is beginning to develop a perceptible bulge from the numerous economic calories being fed to it in the interest of its own preservation and well-being. Mr. Wallace now plans to add another prescription in the form of "an ounce of stimulation" which will activate the process toward full employment and "a peace of abundance."

Sixty million Americans will want jobs by 1950. Mr. Wallace is certain that private enterprise can supply these jobs, with the government participating to spur on the opportunities for production. A bit of the ferment the government will add will be in the form of sponsoring slum clearance and decent housing; providing hospitals and public health facilities—making them accessible to all people through national health insurance; bringing more schools and education in a cooperative way of life to the youth of America; and extending the benefits of a TVA to the undeveloped regions of the nation. Mr. Wallace accepts peace-time military conscription as an accomplished fact and conveniently removes two and one-half million from the labor market and possible unemployment into the armed services.

This book lays down no blueprint for attaining the goal of full employment. It indicates rather the direction which Henry Wallace, as private citizen, feels the country should take to meet the needs of its people. Mr. Wallace believes that timely planning is essential to an efficiently operating economy, but such planning cannot and will not degenerate into the Planned Economy of a regimented state if men at the grass roots of America will take heed.

—ELIZABETH MUTSCH

Good Reading on Full Employment

E. Wright Bakke, *Citizens Without Work*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940.

Sir William H. Beveridge, *Full Employment in a Free Society*, New York, W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1945. (See summarized version by Maxwell S. Stewart, "There Can Be Jobs For All," published by Public Affairs Committee, New York, 1945.)

Josephine C. Brown, *Public Relief*, New York, Henry Holt & Company, 1940.

Alvin H. Hansen, *After the War—Full Employment*, Washington, D.C. National Resources Planning Board, 1942.

Seymour E. Harris, ed., *Postwar Economic Problems*, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1943.

CRUCIAL ISSUE

Next month two of America's foremost authorities on THE CAUSES, EFFECTS AND CURES OF ANTI-SEMITISM write for *Social Action*—Dr. Samuel Koenig, specialist in the social and psychological aspects of minority group problems, and Dr. Isacque Graeber, editor of *Jews in a Gentile World* and specialist in the economic and political factors of anti-Semitism. Rev. John H. Blacklidge, a minister who has led his church and community in combating anti-Semitism, will outline a program for religious groups.

OTHER ISSUES COMING THIS YEAR

TOWARD A NATIONAL FARM SECURITY POLICY—A field report of what is happening to American agriculture, the facts behind the demise of the FSA, the effect of increasing monopoly in land ownership, and proposals for a new farm policy.

SOCIAL EVANGELISM—How win pagan America? How cut across class lines? A study of the strength and weakness of the personal, evangelical, revival tradition; the contribution of foreign missions and American experiments to an understanding of the influence of social, economic and religious factors on church membership.

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